8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

121 the kinship system in the Badaga case as having developed as a means of assigning and transferring ownership of and rights in property, especially cattle and houses, but to a lesser extent land too. We must remember that (241) in the early days Badagas practised swidden agriculture (although strangely that is not mentioned in the early ballads), and the Nilgiri population density was so low that land really had no market value there and was very easy to come by.

233 Now, keeping a herd of buffaloes requires adequate grazing and certain other conditions. One is the presence of a number of active men, typically brothers, who will keep the herd together while grazing and fend off tigers (539) when possible. Women could not do this work: the epic poem *Ba:la Sevana* (462) ridicules the mother of the hero for trying to drive the family's herd out to graze with a stick in her hand. Both swidden and ordinary plough agriculture 241 also called for the combined efforts of several men (as well as a number of 476 women), and so here too Badagas found a good reason for cultivating their 596 fields as a joint family. Many still do so today. The point to be noted is that both the buffalo-herding and ox-ploughing and swidden cultivation were economic conditions that favoured patrilocality, the joint family, and 182 brother/sister exchange at marriage—this latter a preference which maintained a balance of manpower between two intermarrying families or settlements. If a youth married his FZD and her brother in turn married *his* 581 MBD, brother/sister exchange would result, the ideal of cross-cousin mar- 582 riage would be honoured, the two families involved would have asserted their 583 equality, and close relations would ensue between them. Where brother/ 586 sister exchange has occurred, divorce becomes rather more difficult because it places great strains on the other couple, those who are not getting divorced.

591 The girls in this system invariably go off to another village in marriage 881 at or shortly after menarche, where they will be needed to *(a)* do house-work and look after small children; *(b)* do some sowing, weeding and reaping in 462 the fields; and *(c)* raise a new generation of farmers and buffalo herdsmen. In this married situation the birth of a son means that a woman has largely 602 fulfilled all three of her obligations to the family she has joined—for on (885) marriage a Badaga girl relinquishes membership in her natal family, lineage, (562) and village, and joins those of her husband. Her membership in them is made (851) especially manifest when her husband dies and a son continues to support her in her husband's village; and when she too dies it is her husband's village and its headman who are responsible for conducting her funeral, with the collaboration of her husband's family.

562 The economic decision-making rests with the adult men: when to sow, what to plant in each kind of soil, when and where to move the cattle in search of new grazing, when to harvest, and, in former times, when to move 182 the swidden. These decisions call for accurate topographical knowledge, and 562 it is thus both appropriate and necessary that the detailed local knowledge 591 which boys acquire in work and play should be put to good use when they

8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

become householders—in their natal villages, that is. Women are never expected to make such decisions. Hence patrilocality is a principle of survival, a fact which is reinforced by the phenomenon of repeated divorces that might take one woman in her lifetime as a bride to two or three different villages, in each of which she would be something of a novice with regard to the local ecological conditions.

For a male, membership of his father's lineage—whether maximal, major, minor, or minimal—is inalienable. There may nowadays be little or no assertion of the solidarity of an individual with his lineage during his entire lifetime, but yet the tie remains. Some lineages do however still maintain in common a herd of buffaloes.

For females the descent situation is rather less clear. A woman at marriage joins the family and hence the lineage of her husband. This connection is not inalienable, on the other hand, for divorce may easily rupture it. The term for affines *(nantan-natta)* is applied by a man's family to all of his wife's natal family and lineage; it is similarly applied to all the agnatic relatives of any potential wife. This is a commonplace in Dravidian kinship systems. Among Badaga women we also find that a wife calls her own parents and brothers *nantan*, and in anticipation of a certain married future may even use this term in reference to them while she is still a small, unmarried girl, just as her potential husbands would.

3. The Affines

The community based on patrilocal residence is a moral entity in which deference is enforced by authority. Relationships with one's agnates are always extensive and carefully maintained, and this contrasts with the narrowness of affinal relationships. The two categories are further differentiated in behaviour by the fact that a male can be fined by the village headman if he does not show the proper respect due to an agnate, and primarily to a member of his own village; but there is no fine for lack of respect to an affine.

Badagas have a saying, "There is no relationship among affines." This simply means that Ego does not always recognize generation levels among his affines. What *is* important, here as elsewhere in the kinship realm, is the age differential. Take, for example, the unexpected situation (Diagram 1) of

Diagram 1

8: Hockings E-S (1962-1977) 1982 AWSO Badaga AWSO

add, "It's the same name as his." She does not even refer to her husband by the standard kin term, *gaṇḍa*, but instead says *en mane avoka*, "my housekeeper." [60] [55] [593]

The Badagas display what Murdock (1949: 225-236) has termed a Dakota-type terminology. They have the Iroquois terminology (bifurcate merging), which emphasizes Ego's lineage by: (1) equating father and his brothers (*appa*) but separating off mother's brothers (*mamma*); (2) equating mother and her sisters (*avve*) but separating off father's sisters (*mammi*). The Iroquois bifurcate-merging cousin terminology specifically separates out the cross-cousins who can be married (FZD—*mammi heṇṇu;* MBD—*mamma heṇṇu*) from the sisters (eZ—*akka;* yZ—*amme*) and parallel cousins (FBD—*akka, amme*, and MZD—*doḍḍa avve heṇṇu* [e] or *sikka avve heṇṇu* [y]) whom one cannot marry. By calling Ego's Z and FBD by the same terms, Ego's patrilineage is also emphasized. Dakota-type terminology also assumes patrilineages and patriclans which, as already stated, the Badagas possess.

It should be noted that the generational level within the agnatic group is extremely important. This importance is stressed even to the extent that if Ego's DD is married to a man related as "F" to Ego, then she has to be treated as a "M" by Ego. And if ZD marries a "F" relation to Ego then she is considered "M" to Ego even though he is *guru* to her. Females automatically assume the generation levels of the men they marry. In the example illustrated (Diagram 4), if 'A' marries 'B', which may happen if 'A' is younger than 'B', then she calls 'C' "father's wife," not "brother's daughter." [885] [562]

Diagram 4

The same general principle is illustrated by another possible though hypothetical situation. In Diagram 5, 'B' marries 'C' and later dies, leaving her with several sons. The widow 'C' is then encouraged to marry 'A', probably a widower himself. If she has a son 'D' by him, then 'D' is one generation senior to 'E', 'F', and 'G', although he is younger than any of them. 'E' thus has to call 'D' "father." Later at the inheritance of 'A's' property, 'D' gets one half of it, while the other half is shared by 'E', 'F', and 'G'.

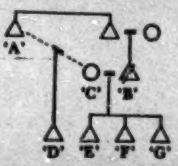

Diagram 5